The future of the planet cannot be left in the hands of the capitalist class

Capitalist civilisation – this world system based on wage labour and production for profit – is dying. Like ancient Roman slavery or feudal serfdom, it is doomed to disappear. But unlike previous systems, it threatens to take the whole of humanity with it.

For over a hundred years the symptoms of its decline have become more and more evident. Two world wars of unprecedented levels of destruction, followed by decades of proxy conflicts between two imperialist blocs (USA and USSR), conflicts which always contained the menace of a third and final world war. Since the eastern bloc collapsed in 1989, we have not seen peace but increasingly chaotic local and regional wars, like the ones currently ravaging the Middle East. We have been through global economic convulsions, like those in the 1930s, the 70s, or 2008, which have plunged millions into unemployment and poverty and which accelerate the drive towards open warfare. And when capitalism has succeeded in restoring accumulation – whether in the wake of massive destruction, as after 1945, or by dopying itself with debt – we now understand that the very growth and expansion of capital adds a new menace to the planet through the destruction of nature itself.

Rosa Luxemburg in 1916, responding to the horrors of the first world war, pointed to the choice facing humanity: “either the triumph of imperialism and the collapse of all civilisation as in ancient Rome, depopulation, desolation, degeneration – a great cemetery. Or the victory of socialism, that means the conscious active struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism and its method of war. This is a dilemma of world history, an either/or; the scales are wavering before the working class. The working class exists at all, let alone that it has the same interests in every part of the world.”

This is an immense task, made more difficult by the loss of a sense of class identity over the past few decades, so that even many of those who feel that there is something profoundly wrong with the present system find it hard to accept that the working class exists at all, let alone that it has the unique capacity to change the world.

And yet proletarian revolution remains the only hope for the planet because it signifies the end of all systems where humanity is dominated by blind economic forces, the first society where all production is consciously planned to meet the needs of humanity in its interaction with nature. It is based on the possibility and the necessity for human beings to take social life into their own hands. It is for this reason that we must oppose the slogans and methods of those organising the current climate protests, calling on us to exercise our democratic rights to demonstrate or vote with the aim of putting pressure on governments and political parties to react to the ecological crisis.

This is a deception because the role of all these governments and parties – whether of the right or the left – is to manage and defend the very system which is at the root of the multiple dangers facing the planet.

The choices we are offered by the politicians of all stripes are false choices. A Brexit Britain or a Britain that remains in the EU will not shield the working class from the storms brewing in the world economy. A USA run according to Trump’s “America First” vandalism, or the more traditional “multilateral” policies of other factions, will still be an imperialist power compelled to defend its status against all the other imperialist powers. Governments that deny climate change or governments that chatter about investing in a “New Green Deal” will still be obliged to maintain a profitable national economy and thus carry out incessant attacks on working class living conditions. They will still be caught up in the same drive to accumulate which is turning the Earth into a desert.

Working class revolution. It is for this reason that we must oppose the slogans and methods of those organising the current climate protests, calling on us to exercise our democratic rights to demonstrate or vote with the aim of putting pressure on governments and political parties to react to the ecological crisis.

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That, we are told, at least we can vote for a different team, and in countries where even this “right” is denied, we can demand that it is granted to us. In fact, the illusion that we can have some control over the juggernaut of capitalism by casting our votes every few years is integral to the whole fraud of capitalist democracy. The vote, the polling booth, not only keeps us trapped in the false choices on offer, but is itself an expression of our powerlessness, reducing us to the atomised individual “citizens” of this or that state.

The class struggle of the proletariat has shown a real alternative to this institutionalised impotence. In 1917-19, the working class rebelled against the slaughter of war and formed workers’ councils in Russia, Germany, Hungary and other countries, councils of elected and recallable delegates from workplace and other assemblies that for the first time contained the potential for a conscious control of political and social life. This massive international uprising brought the war to an end as the rulers of the warring camps needed to unite their forces to crush the menace of revolution.

Humanity has paid a heavy cost for this defeat: all the barbarism of the last hundred years has its roots in the failure of the first attempt to overthrow world capitalism. It will pay an even heavier cost if the working class does not recover its forces and make a second assault on the heavens.

This may seem a distant prospect but as long as capitalism exists there will be class struggle. And because capitalism in its agony has no choice but to increase the exploitation and repression of its wage slaves, the potential remains for the resistance of the latter to move from the defensive to the offensive, from the economic to the directly political, from instinctive revolt to the organised overthrow of capitalism.
Extinction Rebellion: bourgeois reformism indigus
e
In October 2019 Extinction Rebellion (XR) held a 2-week autumn “International rebellion”, planned for 60 cities worldwide. XR, this involved demonstrations, the occupation of road junctions, climbing on trains, erecting a structure in Oxford Circus, getting arrested, and generally stirring up an opprobrium of the dir- 
estate of the world’s ecology. On the ‘theoretical side’ the booklet Common Sense for the 21st Cen-
tury / Only Nonviolent Rebellion Can Stop Capitalism” by Roger Hallam, co-founder of XR (no evidence is presented) Hallam’s work is not just a theoretical basis for exploitation, but has the capacity to overthrow capital-
ism. Hallam’s work is not just a theoretical basis for exploitation, but has the capacity to overthrow capital-
ism. At different moments XR’s protests on the climate change front – as shown by the long-term success of many la-
lar campaigns – as in the UK. While it has an inter-
national presence, it is fully in favour of reviving the framings of national pride”.

In XR against reformation?
Common Sense opposes ‘reformists’ “Their offer of gradualist solutions which they claim will work. It is time to admit that this is false, and it is a lie. They therefore divert popular opinion and the public’s attention and energy away from the task at hand: radical collective action against the poli-

cical regime which is planning our collective sui-
cide”. And yet XR’s whole policy is reformist. All other social questions have to be put on hold until capitalism commits itself to addressing the ‘cli-

timate emergency’. This is echoed in the Guardian newspaper’s assertion of “the climate emergency as the defining issue of our times.” “XR’s central concern is the environment, and the possibility of the system running out of carbon credits. In the UK this means like taxes and tariffs and the decommissioning of harmful technology, to prevent eco-genocide. In theory and practice they want to present ecology as a state responsibility. They do not see capitalism as a global system that gives rise to economic cri-

nals and imperial war as well as ecological dep-

carization. The attack on the repressive apparatus of the state is particularly illuminating. Common Sense says “A proactive approach to the police is an effec-
tive way of enabling mass civil disobedience in a variety of contexts.” Yet the innovative police as they arrive on the scene and saying two things clearly: ‘this is a nonviolent peaceful action’ and ‘we respect that you have to do your job here’. We have repeated evidence that this calms down police officers thus opening the way to subsequent civil interactions. The Extinction Rebellion actions have consistently treated the police in a polite way when we are arrested and at the police stations’. XR prides itself on being non-confrontational and operates the following advice: ‘meet with police as effective as they are able to understand that the people they are dealing with are reasonable and communicative.’ XR sees no conflict with the police as a whole, but better for the police to manage an orderly and low-cost episode which is compatible with our interest in having a large number of people take the streets of the capital at the same time. Within the standpoint of the ruling class, XR are not seen as a threat to those in power, just an occasional nuisance for traffic.

Certainly, the leadership of XR do not see the police as a threat; on the contrary, they are seen as instrumental in assisting XR’s impact by making multiple arrests. As other critics have said “XR leaders are more than respectful to the police. They actively assist them in making arrests and the courts in securing conviction” (https://libcom.org/blog/eczox/challenge-struggle-need-pt-1-19072019#footnoteref3_oykd8i). This article by the Out of the Woods’ collective also reports that ‘Hallam claims that the police are ‘probably one of the most civilised forces in the world’.” Against XR’s view, the historical experience of the exploited and oppressed has been that the police, along with the courts, prisons, security services and army, are integral parts of the capitalist state’s apparatus of repression. Anything that threatens capitalist order will be met by the force of the state, in particular by the police.

A hierarchical vision of ‘revolution’
XR claim to be advocates of some sort of ‘revolution’, but think that a ‘dramatic purging of discredited revolutionary models can be so-

cially ruinous.” Hallam is so confident that XR planning is the key that, without it, “we are left with directionless and spontaneous uprisings — which research shows usually lead to authoritarian-
tism and imperial war as well as ecological dep-
carization. The attack on the repressive apparatus of the state is particularly illuminating. Common Sense says “A proactive approach to the police is an effec-
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Continued on page 3
The Green New Deal or the greenwashing of capitalism

Media campaigns on climate change often pit the urgent necessity to stop releasing greenhouse gases through carbon-intensive activities or even “the unadulterated”. We have the Yellow Vests in France originally protesting against a carbon tax that would make the cost of petrol prohibitive when there is no adequate public transport, or the slogan “Trum dgo coal” as he pretended to defend the coal industry and the workers who rely on it. The campaign for a Green New Deal (or something similar) claims to solve the problems of climate change, unemployment and inequality all at the same time. For example: “The Sunrise Movement’s Green New Deal 2020” claims that “over the last 40 years, or the more recent campaign around ftntref2 unlike the policies in Germany at the time, when PWA also built warplanes, while the WP A built carriers; the money came from the PWA agency.”

We also need to understand the destructive effect of capitalism on nature, and particularly the danger of greenhouse gas emissions from the burning of fossil fuel. The Green New Deal takes the Green New Deal sound like a no-brainer.

If it sounds too good to be true...

Let’s take a hard look at the Green New Deal – from the point of view of its reference to the state capitalist measures of Roosevelt’s New Deal in the 1930s; from the point of view of the inability of the capitalist nation state to address a global problem; considering the implications of the policies for the environment; unfortunately the way the policy hides the real nature of capitalism and acts to undermine the development of the working class’ consciousness and struggle.

The Green New Deal takes its inspiration from a state capitalist policy in the 1930s, to restart economic growth in response to the depression. The New Deal itself looked back to the state direction of the economy in the previous Great War in 1917-18, and as well as paying for much needed infrastructure the Public Works Administration “built numerous works, including two aircraft carriers and two warships, as well as a number of PWA also built warplanes, while the WP A built carriers; the money came from the PWA agency.”

To understand how capitalist civilisation can be so profligate with the very world on which we all depend it is necessary to understand the nature of capitalism itself.

Distorting the truth about capitalism

The Green New Deal promises to overcome capitalism’s destruction of the environment, particularly climate change, through the bourgeois state, but this is not possible. Capitalism is not a government policy whose various laws can be altered at will by the capitalist state. The result of the long historical development of the mechanisms of the capitalist mode of production. An important step in this was the separation of the capitalist from the producer of the nature. For instance when peasants were driven off the land in favour of sheep for more lucrative woolen industry.

This created a system of generalised commodity production, production for the market. In place of peasants who could produce almost all they needed from the land, there were wage workers who needed to buy everything. The capitalists...

Continued from page 2

the future capitalism has in store, but XR provide an ideology and a schedule of protests to recuperate such concerns and militant energies and channel them through support for the capitalist system that is at the root of environmental decline. As with the propaganda from all the green parties over the last 40 years, or the more recent campaign around Green New Deal. A Green Industrial Revolution’s claim that capitalism can address the state of the environment.

All the evidence shows that, far from cancelling out the apparent signs of being capable of taking all humanity down with it. The interests of the working class are antagonistic to capital and cannot be satisfied within this work for – whether an individual businessman, company, multinational or state-owned industry – cannot be satisfied by selling all to a profit. The Green New Deal can do nothing to change the way capitalism works.

Capital has a real Midas touch: every thing it produces turns to profit. Capitalism is a system of production as agents without costing anything, whatever role they might play in production. They do not have to be the economic activity serves the needs of society and humanity cannot be possed, only whether it is profitable.

In some cases, when capitalism is expanding across the globe, it was already polluting and destroying nature. The pollution from mining and industry is well known, as is the history of raw sewage, water, and other forms of pollution. In fact, the environmental destruction and greenhouse gas emissions are marked by the very existence of capitalism. How could it be otherwise?

Metaphors like “the Golden Age of Capitalism” are in competition to sell at a profit. The Green New Deal can do nothing to change the way capital works.

Worse, by providing a false ‘solution’ it can only spread illusions in the working class, thus prolonging the life of this system and increasing the danger that it sinks into irreversible barbarism. Alex, 11.15.19

Continued from page 4

Marx and ecology

Indeed, a measure of capitalism’s decadence is precisely this growing gap between the potential created by the development of the productive forces – of which science is a vital part – and the productive forces are being shaped and distorted by the existing social relations.

On its own even the most disinterested scientific knowledge is powerless to turn back the tide of environmental despoliation. Hence the endless warnings of concerned scientific bodies about the melting of the glaciers, the poisoning of the oceans or the extinction of species are endlessly ignored or counteracted by the real policies of capitalist governments whose first rule is always “expand or die”, whether or not these governments are ruled by crude climate change deniers like Trump or by those who pretend to be different.

The solution to the ecological crisis – which, increasingly cannot be separated from capitalism’s irreversible economic crisis and its drive towards imperial rivalry – can only arise that if mankind “takes back control” through the suppression of capitalist pollution, with all its outward expressions, not least money, the state, and all national frontiers. It cannot arise from capitalism’s exploitation: the entire process of production must be organised on the basis of the needs of the producers and their long-term interaction with the rest of nature.

This is a precondition for the survival of our species. But it is also much more than that. In the last-cited passage, Engels continues: “the more this progresses the more will man not only feel but also know their oneness with nature, and the more impossible will become the senseless and unnatural idea of a contract between mind and matter, man and nature, soul and body, such as arose after the decline of classical antiquity in Europe and obtained its highest elaboration in Christianity”. Here Engels returns to some of the most auda-

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Write by e-mail to the following addresses: From Great Britain use uk@internationalism.org From India use India@internationalism.org From the rest of the world use international@internationalism.org Internationalism.org

References

The overwhelming consensus of serious scientific opinion is that we are already entering a global environmental crisis of unprecedented proportions. This is not the place to name all the various aspects of the disaster facing humanity, from the pollution of the sea, air and rivers to the impending extinction of many species of plant and animal, culminating in the threats posed by the accelerating process of global warming. Suffice it to say that the combination of all these terrible phenomena is leading the planet itself uninhabitable, and at the very least so far out of control that it can be said that we are now faced with a genuine emergency, not merely a threat to humanity, but to all our mastery of (nature) with the title 'No solution to the ecological catastrophe. This article appeared on our website and in some seeing the invention of agriculture as crucial, coined the term “Anthropocene” to designate a new development of the nervous system, and among no cell at all, far less a nerve cell. There is some is, carries out definite, even if extremely simple, protoplasm, living albumen, exists and reacts, that mutations – Engels argues that in the final analy. The Dialectics of Nature. Engels’ essay is an application of the under- standing of the human capacity to act as a conscious past from the standpoint of a class – and of associated labour in particular – does it become possible to understand the emergence of the human and the necessary and inevitable character of the human species. Let us return to the last passage from Engels, third edition, 1876 (Engels). He goes on thus: “Let us return to the last passage from Engels, third edition, 1876. For Engels, of course, the capacity to control the consequences of our production depended on the overthrow of capitalism and the appropriation of scientific knowledge of the laws of nature, which could be the result of our production depended on the overthrow of capitalism and the appropriation of scientific knowledge of the laws of nature, which could be the result of our production depended on the overthrow of capitalism and the appropriation of scientific knowledge of the laws of nature, which could be the result of our production depended on the overthrow of capitalism and the appropriation of scientific knowledge of the laws of nature, which could be the result of our production depended on the overthrow of capitalism and the appropriation of scientific knowledge of the laws of nature, which could be the result of our production depended on the overthrow of capitalism and the appropriation of scientific knowledge of the laws of nature, which could be the result of our production 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